462 on the other hand, are female prerogatives; every woman knows how to make millet beer, soap, karite butter, and kalro (soumbara) with varying effectiveness.

273 Millet beer is brewed with sprouted millet, which is boiled and reboiled in a volume of water proportionate to the amount of grain; yeast is added to the brew on the last day. The liquid is strained through twigs to remove the residue of millet. The more the beer is boiled, the stronger it is; when hops are added, the beverage recalls our own beer.

388 Soap is made with karite butter to which the ashes of millet stalks are added for potash.

252 Oil is extracted from peanuts, previously roasted and crushed between two stones; the women have no press and therefore lose a considerable amount of oil, but it remains in the residue, which is also sold.

Kalro is made from the beans found in the pods of néré /locust bean tree/. It has a strong and characteristic odor, but it enhances the sauce with a not unpleasant flavor.

463 The pottery, wood, and copper industries are carried out by specialists. This does not mean that only the members of a caste may exercise them, but that an apprenticeship is required which is not undergone by everyone, and that people bequeath to their children the secrets of the trade.

323 462 /58/ Pottery is chiefly made by women, although the men may also work with clay and actually often make jars (canari), while the women make the large jars which are used in brewing millet beer, small pots in which they cook sarabo and sauce, and shallow dishes which are used to serve food.

323 The molding and firing methods are similar. A shallow pit is dug into the ground, larger or smaller depending on the size desired for the jar. The walls of the hole are pounded smooth. The woman places in this mold the prepared clay, previously kneaded with the feet and any stones removed. The clay is slightly damp, and the pit is dusted with dry earth. The woman spreads the clay with a well-polished granite stone and makes it revolve so that every portion of the clay is worked between the stone and the pit wall. After a while, she obtains the jar she wants in the proper thickness.

When several potters live in the same village, as usually happens, they get together for the firing. The jars are marked and gathered in

323 a hollow. Straw, twigs, or pieces of bark are laid between the jars and even inside them. Then everything is covered with straw and set afire in the evening. The smaller the jar, the more heat is needed. The women fetch their goods the following morning. Some of the jars are cracked; others, insufficiently fired, would be too porous and must be fired again; the rest are gathered and sold at the market.

322 Woodworking is done by men. They use a hatchet to cut down the trees, an adze and a knife to work the lumber. The mortars and pestles used by the women to crush maize, herbs, peanuts, and sauce ingredients are made of wood, and so are the dishes shaped like gourds, the bowls for sarabo, and the tool handles. There are also stools of a rather peculiar shape. Those women who can afford them close their huts with crude wooden doors. All these industries, however, are quite primitive and of no great interest.

326 [564] [306] The iron and copper work is so distinctive that those who practice it could only be specialists. The smiths, in fact, form a separate caste. One is born a smith, but one becomes a jeweller, since this profession is open to everyone. The smiths extract the metal and make iron tools: hoes, hatchets, adzes, and knives. It is said that no layman is allowed to watch when they extract the iron from the ore, and this would explain why the natives do not know how it is done. As I was unable to visit Yatenga, the area where most iron workers are to be found, I am not familiar with the extracting process.

326 306 [301] /59/ The jewellers occasionally work with iron, but they do so on the sly. They may repair broken tools, sharpen hatchets and arrow tips, and re-use a piece of iron, for instance, make an old hoe into nails, hinges, etc. Their main task, however, is the manufacture of all sorts of bracelets and of all the copper ornaments in a horse's harness: headstall, bit, spurs, stirrups, and the copper plates which hang from the saddle. These plates are a strange ornament which seems peculiar to the Mossi. They may reach 40 centimeters in diameter, and their edge may be as wide as 10 centimeters. The naba and the wealthy horsemen fasten them behind the stirrups, on either [415] side of the saddle, where they hang down the horse's flanks. Servants sometimes use them to drink beer when they have no other containers. To smelt the iron or copper, the Mossi use charcoal which they obtain exactly in the same manner as our /French/ colliers. The fire is kept going with a double bellows made of the skin of goats or sheep and operated by a child. The red-hot iron is hammered with a cylindrical

325 413 2. An iron mallet called zinré which is used as a hammer to strike the above-mentioned anvil. These items are very small. The anvil is held in one hand and the mallet in the other.

3. A pair of tongs (iéougo) to pick the iron from the fire and put it on the anvil.

4. A hammer called kouadara, made of a thick, short, and solid wooden handle into which a long and narrow iron mallet has been driven to make a hammer.

5. A rasp (sodara or chandara), slightly curved, and hafted to a wooden handle.

6. A sort of small wedge to cut the iron (kitéga). This wedge is placed on the piece of iron to be cut, and it is hit with the mallet.

7. A small-sized tool called karé that consists of a curved blade, 3 centimeters long by 2 wide, hafted to a short piece of wood. The karé is used to sharpen knives.

8. The goatskin bellows (zougoudou).

Such are the tools of the Mossi blacksmith which, incidentally, he makes himself.

325 435

The mallet is worth	5,000	cowries	(5 francs)
The anvil	10,000	"	(10 francs)
The hammer	1,000	"	(1 franc)
The nippers	700	"	(0.70 francs)
The rasp	500	"	(0.50 francs)
The iron wedge	200	"	(0.20 francs)
The sharpener	200	"	(0.20 francs)

● 323 The wives of Mossi blacksmiths make pottery. They are not the only ones to do this, as we shall see later, but they do it, at least in the special blacksmith's villages and quarters.

They make pottery with bérédo, that special black earth, a kind of clay we have already mentioned/in a previous chapter, not translated/. They crush and mash old canari and add this powder to the bérédo. This makes the pots stronger than if fresh bérédo were used. When the pots have been fashioned, the women leave them to dry in the sun for six or seven days. While this drying process is taking place, they gather firewood in the bush. Then they place a layer of wood in a round oven (about 1 1/2 meters high, very

323 wide, 2 meters in diameter, and open at the top), then some straw on which the pots are laid, and then more straw and firewood. They set this afire and keep it burning for twelve hours.

In order to polish their pots, the women take the bark of the [314] nobora or n'kouna. They soak it in huge canari for a whole day. The water acquires a reddish hue. The fired and cooled pots are immersed in these canari for a while, and then allowed to dry in the open air. When this is over, the pots may be taken to market and sold.

The blacksmiths' wives make their pottery during the dry season. During the winter season, they work in their husbands' fields.

326 241 During the winter season, Mossi blacksmiths work both at cultivation and at their trade, but mostly at cultivation. During the dry season, on the other hand, they work only at the blacksmith's trade.

As far as cultivation is concerned, they mostly grow small millet, followed by large white millet and large red millet, maize, peanuts, underground peas, sesame, and beans. They cultivate cotton and tobacco, but no indigo. Their wives sow gombo, etc.

326 231 /516/ They own livestock which their children herd. As a rule, they have a little more livestock than other Mossi, except for goats and donkeys. This, incidentally, should not surprise us, for the Negro blacksmiths of West Africa often display an ability for stockbreeding and especially for horse trading. Among the Mossi, however, this is not very pronounced.

326 The blacksmiths neither hunt nor fish, but they do engage in gathering activities like other Mossi. They exercise no industries other than those of iron and pottery. They do not work copper, silver, or gold. They do not work as weavers, either. They entrust their wives with the task of gathering and spinning whatever cotton they grow, and then they hand it over to the weavers.

326 438 They do undertake a little trading, slightly more in fact than the average Mossi. When a blacksmith has smelted a large quantity of iron, he sometimes purchases some livestock, leads it to Ouanké, buys kola nuts which he takes to Saraféré, and brings back salt from that locality. This is not done very frequently, however.

324 316 to burn for one day. Then, with the aid of a large, sharp stone, they strike the spots where the lines were drawn. The stone breaks at those spots, and they take the pieces and sell them at Mossi markets.

This thankless trade does not pay much, and those who exercise it do so only during the dry season. During the winter season they work in the fields, and this brings them much larger returns than their quarrymen's trade.

● 323 After stonework comes work with earth. It is represented among the Mossi by the potter, the pipe maker, and the bricklayer. Let us begin with the first.

/519/ Here and there among the Mossi, pottery has remained a family occupation performed by all the women. This might be called the initial level of the craft. Yet we saw earlier that the wives of those blacksmiths who live in /special/ quarters or villages make pottery in abundance. This is the second level of the craft, that of incipient specialization. Finally, there are professional potters to be found among the Mossi, and this is the third level of the craft, that of more pronounced specialization. There would remain a fourth level to attain, where potters would exercise this trade exclusively and would be completely specialized. This level, however, has not been reached among the Mossi. The potters here are potters only halfway, and they work as much in the fields as they do at their craft. We have here, nevertheless, an initial effort toward clay-work specialization, and this is by no means the case in every Black population.

As an example, here is a potter from Dassasogo, a small village located 8 kilometers from Ouagadougou.

During the rainy season, he works only in the fields. He exercises his potter's trade only during the dry season. His fields bring him the larger returns.

He has a field of small millet in the bush, and he grows maize around his soukala which consists of two huts only. He has a wife and a young child. His work tools are as follows:

323 413 1. A kind of crude basin, very thick, heavy brimmed, quite shallow, and made of earth.

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[317] In order to make this basin the potter takes a kind of earth called yaoré (the kind from large brown or greyish termite nests). He mixes it with straw and makes this kind of basin, this kind of primitive potter's wheel, called tébélé in Mossi.

2. A kind of short earth pestle, which is held in the fist and called toudoubila.

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[428] In order to make his canari our potter takes some yarado. To obtain this kind of clay one must dig at certain spots which are handed down traditionally from father to son. He crushes it with, /520/ his pestle in the basin, and then wets it and builds his canari with it, raising the canari like a house wall and making it revolve slowly before him. Incidentally, he only knows how to make small canari.

Those potters who make big jars excavate a sort of large basin in the ground. They use the same short and compact little pestle to work the clay of the canari they are building, but they use a different kind of yarado, the red or reddish kind.

[435] Our potter sells his small canari for 80 to 120 cowries apiece. He makes them in quantities. People come to him to purchase them, or else he has his wife take them to market.

Skillful potters make four canari a day. Beginners only make two or three.

[435] Large canari are worth 300 cowries apiece.

Those potters who make small canari often make nothing else. Similarly, those who make large canari do not usually make any others. There are some potters who make both kinds, however, for example at Kombisiguiri.

In order to fire the pots, Mossi potters have large round ovens which I have already described. They are completely open at the top, like circular walls 1.50 meters high, with four holes at the bottom. The potters heap up millet stalks within, and lay four canari on top. Upon each of these canari they place others, until the pile reaches the top of the wall. Then they set the millet stalks afire and allow everything to cool off until the following morning.

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467 Every potter does not have his own oven. There is only one oven per quarter. The potters in each quarter get together to build a common oven behind the several soukala. If there are five potters,

323 467 the oven is built in one day. All those who cooperated in building it have the right to use it.

323 At Kombisiguiri, some potters have no ovens. They merely spread out millet stalks on the ground and place the canari on top. They light the millet, and the pots are fired in this fashion.

/521/ It is the potter himself who makes his tools, his crude basin, and his pestle.

Let us point out that the baouré, huge jars where the threshed millet is stored and which are about 2.50 meters high and proportionately wide, which look like enormous sandstone ink bottles and which I saw in the northern part of Mossi territory, are not made by the potters. They are built in each soukala by the inhabitants.

After the potters come the pipe makers. It is the old women who make pipes among the Mossi. They fetch the appropriate clay, [435] fashion the bowl of the pipe, and fire it. They sell it for 5 cowries.

333 Let us not forget the bricklayers, who are called tammétéba in Mossi. Like Gourounsi bricklayers, Mossi ones are primarily cultivators, and their fields net them much more than their trade. As among the Gourounsi, the bricklayers are not paid. They are merely fed for the duration of their work.

322 Following work with earth and clay, let us proceed to woodworking. It is represented among the Mossi by the koukouperséba and séta.

Among certain populations of West Africa, the woodworker's trade is exercised by the blacksmiths (for example, among the Malinké, Dialonké, etc.). Among the Mossi, as among the Gourounsi, it is sharply distinct from the blacksmith's trade and exercised by the koukouperséba, who are counterparts of the Gourounsi voguésara and Mandé debakala-lésemba. The koukouperséba make daba handles, axe handles, small chairs which are very nicely tooled with a hot iron and which represent a horse's back with two crude heads, two outlines of a head, on either side.

Actually, the koukouperséba are primarily cultivators. They work the soil during the rainy season. During the dry season, they make the various items just mentioned.

322 563 In addition to these people, there are the Laobé among the Mossi, that is to say, /522/ those men who are employed by the